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By ISRAEL ZANGWILL

Second Impression

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THE PHARISEES**

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**SOME ASPECTS OF THE GREEK
OLD TESTAMENT**

By H. ST. J. THACKERAY, M.A., Hon. D.D.

With a Foreword by M. GASTER

THE EXCAVATIONS AT UR
AND THE HEBREW RECORDS

The Excavations at Ur and the Hebrew Records

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BY
C. LEONARD WOOLLEY

WITH A FOREWORD BY
M. GASTER

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NOTE

THE Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture was founded in 1917, under the auspices of the Jewish Historical Society of England, by his collaborators in the translation of "The Service of the Synagogue," with the object of fostering Hebraic thought and learning in honour of an unworldly scholar. The Lecture is to be given annually in the anniversary week of his death, and the lectureship is to be open to men or women of any race or creed, who are to have absolute liberty in the treatment of their subject.

FOREWORD

BY THE REV. DR. MOSES GASTER, PH.D.

I AM sorry for the surprise that Mr. Mond has prepared for you. In fact, it was a greater surprise to me than perhaps to you. I never expected to reach this point of elevation to-day. I thought I should be down there among you enjoying a great treat, for I am sure we have a great treat in store for us in the lecture of Mr. Woolley. But I have been called upon practically at a moment's notice to take a Chair that was not prepared for me, and I considered it a duty to obey a call on the occasion of the lecture which is given in memory of our late friend Mr. Arthur Davis, whom to honour we assemble year by year. I am sure no one would have appreciated more a lecture such as that to which we are

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looking forward than the late Arthur Davis, so deeply attached as he was to every word of our sacred Scriptures and such a fervent believer in the truth of our ancient traditions. It is therefore a great privilege—indeed, an honour—to introduce a man like Mr. Woolley, for he is the man who has opened a new chapter of the history of the past, and he will show us the place, and perhaps the very house, where our father Abraham lived some thousands of years ago. A new civilization has practically been brought to light; a new world has come to our knowledge owing to the activities of Mr. Woolley. It is, perhaps, quite unnecessary for me to introduce a man who has earned such a reputation for himself. We are all aware of what he has done, and this afternoon we are to hear much more about work which takes us back to an

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ancient civilization long forgotten, too long lost, indeed. It shows that we are at the beginning of a new and great history of the past. Through Mr. Woolley's lecture we shall gain a new understanding of the ancient civilizations of Egypt and Babylon, and the relation between Babylon and the ancient home of our people in Palestine. We are privileged in having the opportunity of hearing Mr. Woolley, who will give us a report at first hand of the new discoveries which he has made and the pictorial representations of the objects found. Our eyes will now behold, also, some of the products of the arts and crafts of Babylon; and I now call upon Mr. Woolley to unfold some chapters of the great history he has been able to reveal by his discoveries.

The Excavations at Ur and the Hebrew Records

THE title which I have chosen for this lecture might be considered in some ways misleading. The main link, that which first presents itself to the mind, between Ur and the Hebrew records is the name of Abraham, and the name of Abraham has never yet occurred in our discoveries. It is true that at any moment it might turn up on some actual monument; we have buildings of his time, both public and private, and written documents in plenty, and the discovery of the name of any one man, though in a sense it would be accidental, would not be astonishing. But up to the present what we have found is—I do not say confirmative, for in any case that would

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be the wrong word—but illustrative of Hebrew traditions in a very general way; the connection is not always very obvious, and if sometimes you think that I have lost the thread of my discourse I must ask you to bear with me in patience: Mesopotamia is a long way from Palestine and the periods with which we have to deal are sometimes far removed in time from those which interest most the Bible student, yet the link is there and new knowledge may well throw light upon familiar problems.

For a long time it has been generally conceded that the Genesis story of the Flood is either based upon or derived from the same source as the Babylonian or Sumerian versions; perhaps it is partly for that reason that critics and commentators have been too ready to relegate the whole narrative to the domain of legend or mythology. The

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coincidence is really the strongest argument in the opposite sense; the Sumerian story is far inferior in moral content but it does most clearly contain a substratum of historical truth. In the first place the details are altogether consistent with the local conditions of southern Mesopotamia—the disaster as described could have occurred there and could not have occurred in a country of a different character; it was local, not universal, and was what might happen at any time by an abnormal combination of the normal circumstances of a Mesopotamian flood.

Further, the Flood does not figure only in the mythology of the Sumerians. About 2000 B.C. the Sumerian scribes took it upon themselves to compile a digest of their country's history, and that digest we possess in the form of a list of the kings, arranged in their

dynasties, who had governed the whole country at various times. At the beginning there come dynasties which cannot be taken as historic; the kings are made to rule for fabulous periods out of all proportion to human existence, and though we may suspect here either a different system of reckoning by years or the introduction of an astronomical scheme where all memory of real dates had been lost, we cannot so rationalize the figures as to evolve anything worthy of the title of history: the most we can legitimately do is to suppose that the names of the kings may conceal some element of fact which later discoveries might substantiate. Then comes the Flood, regarded by the ancient chronologists as an event which marked an epoch in their history. After the Flood are recorded other dynasties of kings having their seats at different cities—

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Kish, Erech and Ur, and so on—the earlier lists marred by the same impossible longevity as in the case of the antediluvian rulers and only the later reigns, more in touch with the writers' times, reduced to human span and consistent with historical fact. Confused as the lists are and difficult to interpret or co-ordinate, we cannot refuse them a measure of credence. In 1923 and again in 1927 the Joint Expedition found original and contemporary written documents proving the real existence of the kings of the First Dynasty of Ur, the Third Dynasty, according to the Sumerian lists, to rule after the Flood. The date of the dynasty's founder, Mesannipadda, which, so far as it can be calculated, was about 3100 B.C., does not fall so early as the lists would make it, and justifies the view that the general chronology of the earlier lists must be

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sensibly reduced; but the discovery that the names of the First Dynasty of Ur are correctly recorded must go far to confirm the accuracy of the names of the preceding dynasties of Erech and of Kish: with Mesannipadda we are already within measurable distance of the Flood and the prehistoric royal tombs found last season at Ur, dating some three or four centuries before the First Dynasty, bring us still closer to that event and make it more probable that the compilers of the lists were working on a well-authenticated tradition when they made the Deluge mark the close of one epoch and the start of a new.

The royal tombs of Ur have yielded the oldest objects found in the south country to which the term "Sumerian" can safely be applied. There have been found, however, here in the south,

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traces of a much earlier occupation of the River Valley. In graves and small village settlements there occurs, associated with flint implements and other primitive remains, painted pottery of a very distinctive type which has absolutely disappeared by the time when Sumerian culture first comes to light. Near Kish, 175 miles farther north, painted pottery related to that of Ur, but of a definitely later type, has been found associated with Sumerian written tablets very early, but not much earlier than the Ur tombs; here, therefore, there has not been the same breach in continuity as occurs in the south. Now Kish was essentially an Akkadian city lying well within the area occupied by the Semitic-speaking people of Akkad as distinct from the non-Semitic Sumerians, although it was subject to the influence of Sumerian art. In the ruins

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of a prehistoric palace at Kish there has been unearthed a monument which may illustrate this mixture of race and culture; it is a mosaic frieze closely resembling in technique examples found at Ur, but the inlaid shell figures present men wearing long, thin beards and with a type of physiognomy totally unlike that familiar to us from Sumerian sculptures and inlays, and hazardous as it is to argue from tonsorial fashions to racial differences, this may well be a case in point. Now at Ur we have found a figurine of a man in painted clay which belongs to the period of the first occupation of the lower valley, and it is distinguished by just the long, narrow beard which marks the Kish inlays; the resemblance does not amount to proof, but it does constitute evidence that the first occupants of the South were identical with those who in historic

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times were still in possession of the north country and retained then their practice of painting pottery. This would agree with Sumerian beliefs as to their own beginnings and with the story of the Flood. The Sumerians are said to have been from the first a civilized people, as opposed to the barbarous Semitic-speaking people of Akkad, and to have been city-dwellers; their earliest settlements and their oldest historic cities were in the extreme south near the head of the Persian Gulf. Of the cities named as capitals of antediluvian dynasties some never appear subsequently, but two or three survive the Flood and figure in later history. Now the evidence is that from the first Sumerian cities were built on artificial platforms, to protect them against the periodic inundations, and were solidly walled with mud brick; it is conceivable that

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a few such might have stood out against a flood which was local and limited, a more serious version of a normal occurrence; but that same flood would have wiped out the open villages of the Akkadians. The result of the disaster would have been the depopulation of the country-side, enabling the survivors in the Sumerian towns to advance north and to occupy the territory within which they are found established when first they emerge into history. Such archæological data as we possess, and the traditions of the Sumerians themselves, are most easily explained and best reconciled by the assumption that the Flood was the epoch-making historical event which they believed it to be.

I would point out one small feature of the Flood story which may have its significance. In both the Hebrew

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and the Babylonian versions the Deluge is brought about by the wickedness of man, and the hero is saved by his superior virtue. In the Babylonian version Uta-Napishtim (Noah) lives in a reed hut—presumably, therefore, in a village, not in a civilized city—at a place called Shuruppak which lies well to the north of the flooded area and in Akkadian territory, whereas Uta-Napishtim himself is a Sumerian: is it not likely that the sweeping condemnation of his neighbours is due to racial animosity rather than to moral judgment, and that the “people of the land” were wicked in the same sense as were the Amalekites and others who barred the way against the advance of the Hebrews into Palestine?

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the mention of the Flood in the dynastic lists has for many writers been

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enough to discredit the lists. New discoveries have brought history as contained in the lists back so close to the period of the Flood, and have produced so many phenomena requiring for their explanation just such an event as the Flood is supposed to have been, that the *a priori* denial becomes thoroughly unscientific: we are justified in asking for more evidence, but there can be little doubt which way that evidence will trend.

The royal tombs of Ur are remarkable alike for their architecture, their contents, for the light they throw on early customs hitherto unsuspected, and for the witness they bear to the civilization of a period concerning which nothing had before been known. Already, in 3500 B.C., the Sumerians had evolved a culture which was not only materially rich but as fully advanced as anything

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that was destined to replace it in Mesopotamia during some thousands of years. The furnishing of the graves proves that there was some kind of a belief in a future life for which provision had to be made by the survivors, whether for the benefit of the dead man or for their own protection against an otherwise uneasy ghost; the placing of model boats in the grave may indicate that the journey to the next world had to be made by water, the offerings of food and drink must imply that the future life was regarded as a continuation of this, involving much the same bodily needs and pleasures. The funeral of a reigning king was accompanied by human sacrifice on a large scale, and he went to his rest surrounded by his soldiers, his courtiers, women and attendants, and even his chariot and the beasts that drew it were included

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in the wealth of offerings required by his majesty. This barbarous custom, which has no parallel in the graves of common folk, may mean that in the fourth millennium before Christ there already existed the practice which a thousand years later was regular in Sumer of deifying the king, so that the sacrifices in the grave would be offered, not to a mortal but to a god. Everything in the cemetery points to a civilization old and settled; the architects of the time were familiar with the structure of the vault, the arch and probably of the dome, built in brick or stone, as well as of the column in wood or in brick—in short, they were acquainted with every important principle of architecture, including those which were not to find their way into the western world of Europe until the conquests of Alexander opened up Asia

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to the Greeks. Their knowledge of metallurgy was great, and working in gold, silver or copper (iron remained long unknown) they exhibited a skill in design and a technique in execution such as few ages have surpassed. Their art, even now crystallizing into convention, was of a very high order, though unequal in merit; at its worst, as in dealing with the human figure, there is a certain naïvety and clumsiness; at its best, in animal figures, there is perfect observation informed by astonishing strength of design; always there is the sense of proportion, balance and rhythm and the cleanness of line which characterize great art.

The rich and artistic civilization which these tomb objects reflect did not only form the heritage of later dwellers in the lower Euphrates Valley. Sumerian commerce and Sumerian arms spread it

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northwards and westwards until in the valley of the Khabur and along the Mediterranean coast, in the Syrian Lebanon and in Palestine, Sumerian law was current, its arts familiar, its religious beliefs and its social and commercial practices known if not fully adopted, and the subsequent conquests of a Sargon of Akkad or a Hammurabi of Babylon only confirmed the cultural bondage which older Sumerian conquerors had imposed upon their world. By 1900 B.C. the Sumerian empire had passed away and even the Sumerian race was fast disappearing, but Abraham, living at Ur, so far from being a primitive Bedouin accustomed only to the wide spaces of the desert and the stern traditions of a nomad tribe, was the heir to an age-old civilization, sharing the complex life of a great trade centre: at Harran he would have

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found the chief worship directed to that Nannar, the Moon-god, who was the patron deity of Ur; in Palestine he bought the cave of Macpelah according to the form and with the recognized currency of Babylon, and the whole of his dealings with Hagar, from first to last, conform to the dictates of the old Sumerian law which Hammurabi embodied in his famous Code.

This picture of Abraham, as essentially a city-dweller who only under the force of circumstances adopted the nomad life, gives particular interest to the discoveries which throw light on the Ur of his day. In 1900 B.C. many of the buildings erected by the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur, who reigned between 2350 and 2230 B.C., were still standing, and those of them which had been destroyed by the Elamite invasion which brought that dynasty to a disas-

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trous end had been rebuilt by the rulers of Isin and of Larsa; fortunately most of the temples in that area of the city which we have excavated hitherto belong to the one or the other of those periods, and we are therefore able to form a very fair idea, from their extant ruins, of the background against which Abraham passed his earlier years.

Most imposing of all the public monuments was the ziggurat or staged tower which rose in the west angle of the Sacred Enclosure of the city. In every important city of Sumer there was such a tower, an artificial hill of solid brick and bitumen on the top of which stood the most holy shrine of the patron deity; most famous of all these ziggurats was that of Babylon, the "Tower of Babel" which, judging from its scanty ruins, reproduced on a larger scale the well-preserved ziggurat of Ur.

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The tower, measuring at its base roughly 200 feet by 150 and standing 70 feet high, was built in steps or stages communicating with each other by stairways; on three sides it rose sheer, the sloped walls only relieved by shallow buttresses, but on the fourth side three great flights of a hundred steps each led up from the ground and converged at a monumental gateway on the second platform, whence a single flight ran higher to the crowning shrine: great buttresses flanked the stairs, and the tops of these, and perhaps the platforms also, may have been planted with trees so that the brick mass might better recall the natural hill which was its prototype. Symbolic bands of colour, corresponding to the divisions of the universe, cut across the vertical lines of the building and emphasized its sacred character as "the Hill of Heaven"

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whose roots were in the lower world and its summit the very Heaven, the House of God. It was a huge and impressive monument the recollection of which is not likely to have faded soon from the minds of those who had once lived beneath its shadow, and perhaps it would not be even fanciful to hold that Jacob's dream was based on tales he had been told of the ziggurat of Ur, where on festivals the priests went in procession up and down the long stairways which led from earth to Heaven.

At the foot of the ziggurat, partly on the terrace which raised it above the other buildings of the city and partly below the terrace, stood the great temple of Nannar the Moon-god. The higher group of buildings comprised the sanctuary and the inner rooms and service-chambers of the temple; below stretched the wide courtyard with its

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massive gate-tower facing the sanctuary entrance, and all round it the store-rooms and offices which housed the business affairs of the god; here probably were brought the tithes and taxes payable to the god, offerings in kind, cattle and sheep and goats, grain and dates, sour milk and cheese, or, from the city merchants, cloth and copper and finished vessels and silver and gold, and these would be counted out in the courtyard and duly receipted and the goods would be stored in the surrounding magazines, while the forms for their receipt would be filed in the business archives of the temple.

Close to this great building, the most extensive in the city, lay a small shrine of a very different sort, the temple E-nun-makh, sacred to Nannar and his wife Nin-Gal, a secret sanctuary hidden away in a maze of chambers

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and storerooms. Alongside this, at the east corner of the ziggurat platform, was Dublal-makh, its little two-roomed sanctuary with the wide arched entrance which gave it its name, "the Great Gate," facing on a large open court where was the well from which the priests fetched the water for the morning and evening libations which were poured out on the raised altar before the shrine door. At the far end of the court, beside the house of the keeper of the temple archives, there were the extensive working-quarters ; here the women attached to the temple worked at the looms (as did women in the temple of Jerusalem in later years) weaving into cloth the wool brought in by farmers and shepherds as tribute to the god: they were regular factories, run on very business-like lines, and the records of them still survive, found in

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the ruins, with their detailed accounts of output and of the expenses of the women's keep balanced in parallel columns of profit and loss.

Under the south-east ramp of the ziggurat platform stood the fortress-like temple of the Moon-goddess Nin-Gal with its high walls and angle towers. Inside lay two shrines of the goddess, built on different patterns, and between them, in a maze of passages, there was the little chapel where men worshipped the deified king Bur-Sin who had founded the temple nearly four hundred years before: it was in this building, in the forecourt of one of Nin-Gal's shrines, that, a few years perhaps after Abraham had left Ur, King Hammurabi of Babylon was to set up a monument signaling his capture of the once imperial city and the downfall of Sumerian independence.

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More temples and the old royal palace of the kings of Ur filled up the rest of the Sacred Enclosure, making a great complex of buildings which for all their diversity were yet parts of a single whole, the temple of Nannar in the widest sense of the word, and then, beyond its encircling walls, one passed out into the town. Though the suburbs stretched far and wide, the inner city, the old town, was walled for defence, and within its ramparts the houses of the citizens were huddled together along narrow winding lanes, mere unpaved alleys, so narrow that the corners of the buildings were rounded off to make safer passage for the laden asses which were the only means of transport. Blank walls faced on the streets, windowless and broken only by the entrance-doors of the houses, but these, when once you entered them, were found to

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be comfortable enough. They were built of brick, burnt brick for the lower parts of the walls and crude mud brick above, the whole was plastered and whitewashed, and stood two storeys high; from the entrance one passed through a little lobby, where was set a jar of water for the washing of feet, into the paved central court around which the house was built; an inside staircase led up to a wooden gallery running round the walls of the court from which access was gained to the upper rooms; the nearly flat roof of the house projected inwards with wide eaves to protect the gallery, but the middle part was open to the sky and through this came all the light and air for the rooms. The chambers on the ground-floor had no windows, only doors for ventilation and light, but with the strong sun of Mesopotamia

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no more than that is needed; one of them was the reception-room to which guests would be introduced, another the kitchen with its open hearth for burning wood or charcoal, its bread-oven and its rubbing-stones for the milling of grain; another was for the servants; under the staircase was the lavatory; and yet another chamber might be the private chapel where domestic worship was conducted in honour of the family's patron god; and beneath the brick pavement of this, or under the floor of some other room if the house boasted no chapel, there would be the big brick-built vault which was the burial-place of the household. The upper chambers were devoted to the family and were the living-quarters proper; these too all looked out upon the courtyard, and perhaps had windows as well as doors,

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but their walls are to-day not so well preserved as to afford certain evidence on the point; like the downstairs chambers they seem to have been simply plastered and whitewashed. Indeed, about the decoration and furnishing of the houses we know very little, for everything has disappeared from the ruins, and to gain any idea of the interiors we must fall back on the evidence of carved reliefs and of clay models, together with references in the written texts. There were tables and chairs with barred legs and ornamental arms, beds with string or reed mattresses stretched on wooden frames whose high head-pieces might be decorated with carvings of flowers and birds or of gods; clothes were stored in clay or wooden chests, and there would be a wealth of cooking and feeding-vessels in clay, copper, or, for richer families,

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in silver. Probably for use in or for the decoration of the chapels were the small clay figures of the gods and their worshippers, of which great numbers are found belonging to this period; they are the *teraphim*, the gods of the domestic cult, just such figures as Rachel hid in the camel-cloths when she left Harran, and as were buried when a change of home made advisable a change of worship, under the oak at Mamre. In such houses as these, houses of twelve or fourteen rooms, a family might live a comfortable and a very civilized life, a material existence quite on a par with the highly developed social and intellectual life of the time: whatever might be the father's business, it would be conducted in accordance with a most elaborate system of commercial laws and precedents; the mother would enjoy a degree of independence

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unknown at any later date in the East and might be engaged in business on her own account; the sons, in a school attached to one of the temples, would be taught reading and writing, arithmetic and geometry, and might advance to the higher sciences of medicine, astrology or law: altogether the life of such a man as Abraham at Ur in the XXth Century B.C. was the sophisticated life of a citizen, and in trying to fill in the background of the Genesis story we must make allowances for antecedents very different from those of the Bedouin tent-dwellers: from the beginning Hebrew customs and beliefs were coloured and informed by the traditions of a very old and a very artificial non-Semitic civilization. To most people this picture of the elaborate conditions of domestic life at Ur will come as a surprise and must seriously

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affect their conception of the patriarch; but it is important to realize it, for otherwise it is impossible to understand how inherited ideas and practices were developed and modified by the Hebrews in the course of their later history. Even the prehistoric tombs of Ur, though they be fifteen hundred years older than Abraham, are yet of interest to the Biblical student because the civilization which they illustrate does lie ultimately at the root of Hebrew growth.

There are many points where our work at Ur touches more or less directly on the Biblical narrative—as, for example, in the discovery of a nunnery built by Nabonidus, the last of the Babylonian kings, and presided over by his daughter Belthalti-Nannar, the sister of Belshazzar, but I would prefer here to give at greater length

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one case in which, instead of the excavations throwing light on the Bible, the Bible has to be called in to explain the facts of excavation.

I have mentioned the temple E-nun-makh, which was already in Abraham's time an ancient foundation. Founded about 3000 B.C., it was restored and rebuilt by one king after another for a space of two thousand four hundred years or more, but throughout that long lifetime it preserved unchanged its original character, a character so peculiar that critics accustomed to the style of Babylonian temple-builders were inclined to deny that it was a temple at all, in spite of the many inscriptions testifying to its nature. The sanctuary—a little five-roomed building—was tucked away in the middle of a complex block of service-chambers and magazines; to reach its front door you

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had to go along a narrow winding passage round three sides of the building, and instead of that door being on the axis of the temple it led into a little antechamber from which you passed by side doors into the twin shrines, themselves so small that only a few priests at a time could have performed the rites of worship. Clearly the building was designed for some secret ritual from which the public was jealously excluded. About 600 B.C. a fresh restoration of the old temple was undertaken by Nebuchadnezzar. He respected tradition in so far as he rebuilt the five-roomed sanctuary on the original foundations but otherwise he so remodelled the structure as to alter its character entirely. All the old storerooms lying in front of the sanctuary were razed and over the remains of them was spread a pavement making

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a large open court on two levels, a higher area immediately in front of the shrine door between two new wings which were built out from its angles, and a lower court extending to the limits of the site; just outside the sanctuary door there was set up a brick altar of sacrifice and inside it, against the back wall of the antechamber, a large base for a cult statue. These alterations could only mean a change in ritual; the old mystery had been swept away and now the services could be attended by a crowd of people assembled in the outer or lower court, the sacrifice would be performed in their presence, and behind the altar and the ministrant priest they would see the figure of the god himself shining out from the half-darkness of his house.

The Biblical tale of the Three Children need have little direct historical

content, but any story, however fanciful, must have a background of truth, a "local colour", to commend it to its audience. The point of that tale is that a novel action of King Nebuchadnezzar brought trouble on Hebrews who had hitherto lived in peace at Babylon. Now the setting up of a statue was no new thing—every king of Babylon had done that; the novelty lay in the order that every member of the lay public was to participate in the worship. The ordinary ritual of Babylon had always been conducted by priests either in private or for those who wished to sacrifice on their own account; the king was introducing a change, and the content of his edict in the Bible story puts into words precisely that which is signified by the structural change remarked in the ruins of the temple E-nun-makh; it is the substi-

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tution of "congregational worship" for secret ritual. My explanation of that structural change remains hypothetical, though it is the only one that accords with the facts, but it is immensely strengthened by its agreement with just that element in the Bible story which *a priori* is most likely to be true, namely the local colour which is intended to give historical verisimilitude to the whole.

It is impossible to say whether the accident of survival and the chances of discovery will ever produce at Ur any direct evidence of Abraham's life there, or whether we shall light upon written documents completing and carrying back to earlier periods those Sumerian legends of the Creation and the Flood which are so intimately bound up with the cosmogony of the Jews. But though the object of our

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work is the furthering of historical knowledge in a much more general sense, and the elucidation or illustration of one particular phase such as Hebrew history can only be incidental, yet in fact we have already, as I trust that this lecture has shown, amassed information and encountered problems which at least indirectly must appeal to the Biblical scholar and convince him that for his specialized studies also the excavations at Ur are not lacking in interest.

AFTERWORD

THE CHAIRMAN : It falls to me to ask you to express in the heartiest possible manner your appreciation of the lecture to which we have just listened and the interest and importance of which could scarcely be exaggerated. We hold these meetings annually in honour of the memory of a man who gave of his best to the illustration of the Bible from the grammatical and philological point of view. Mr. Arthur Davis was the man who investigated the rhythm of the accents and gave the most minute attention to every detail of ancient scripture. To-day's address has continued his tradition in a most worthy and successful manner in the understanding of Holy Writ which it has brought to us. It must be a matter of deep gratification to find that the

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work of the literary scholar is borne out by that of the archæologist, that the more new material is brought to light the more is Holy Writ confirmed. Not a single discovery made in Egypt or Babylonia has contradicted a single statement found in our Bible. The Bible was not written as a record of Babylonian or Sumerian activity, but whatever is there is corroborated by the evidence of the spade and by the intelligence and scholarship of those who have undertaken the large task of excavation and the courage to bring it to such a successful issue. We have lived again the life of four thousand years ago, and in forty-five minutes we have had a new revelation. We have been brought face to face with an ancient civilization so fully developed that it puts into the shade the Egyptian and the Greek.

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We have seen what high perfection the goldsmith, the architect and the builder had already reached in those remote periods, and Mr. Woolley has shown that our fathers were not nomads or herdsmen of a doubtful character who invaded Egypt. How far this ancient civilization has influenced the Jew we are still very far from determining with any definite result. But what we have learned is that there is interdependence among ancient civilizations. The question arises whether the term "Sumerian" is not a misnomer. It is curious that the word never occurs in the Bible. We hear of Akkad and Elam, and various nationalities are alluded to, yet it is curious that there is no mention by name of a people that had such an extraordinarily developed artistic civilization. As for the legislation of the Sumerians, later discoveries will show

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how far they could have been the originators of it. I should like to have heard something of the connection between the Hittites and Amorites on the one hand and the Sumerians on the other. I wish the lecturer further success in his work and trust that he may be able to bring us a message from Abraham our forefather. I have much pleasure in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Woolley for his inspiring and interesting address.

Mr. HERBERT M. ADLER, M.A., seconding the vote : To some of us in this hall it is not the first time that we have had the pleasure of listening to Mr. Woolley. Two or three years ago he entranced a large meeting of the Maccabæans by a lecture of a somewhat similar character. I know I

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thought at the time that the lecture was one of the most interesting I had ever listened to. I have changed that opinion since hearing Mr. Woolley this afternoon. Now that I have heard of the further excavations he has undertaken and the further results he has achieved, I rather think the second lecture beats the first. No one can doubt but that this topic rightly comes within the scope of the Arthur Davis Lectures. It is quite true, as the Chairman has said, that Arthur Davis was primarily a book student. He loved the book, the written letter, the dot, the point, the musical accent. He was a student, but more than a student; he was a scholar. To him nothing that shed light on the fortunes, the character, the genius of his people was foreign or uninteresting. And it is only a man of that kind who could

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have infused in his daughters such a love of our literature as he succeeded in doing, as to perpetuate after his own life something of his own feelings, enthusiasms and talents. This afternoon we have listened to something of much more than mere archæological interest. Otherwise we should not have an audience of this kind, an audience, I am glad to say, comprising quite a number of teachers who will carry the knowledge they have gained to a wider field. It is, I think, in our case true to say that our history, to us at least, is not a museum full of mummies or a mausoleum full of the dust, the bones of bygone ages. Our history has something so continuous about it, such a connecting principle running right through it, that one may without exaggeration describe it as an epic with one dominating note, a deter-

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mined striving for the assertion of a definite religious principle. After all, it was that which decided all the most momentous turning-points in our history, and it is with something of a thrill that we have seen opened up this first chapter of our history and realize that the emigration under Abraham was not undertaken merely for the desire to acquire new fields, new territory, or more wealth. Abraham's journey from Ur was like going from London to the Shetland Isles to engage in the revolution against the civilized idolatry in which our forefather lived, and from which he escaped in order to found a new, better and truer religion. Is not that the moral of what we have heard this afternoon? We have seen pictures of the idols that Terah must have worshipped, though up to this moment the only testimony we had to the fact were

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the tales of the Midrash which are now, in extraordinary fashion, proved to have been true. Abraham, the Midrash tells us, was born in a house of idol-makers. That story is proved to have been quite possibly true. I think we have listened with a real thrill to the lecture of this afternoon, and from the bottom of our hearts we want to thank the lecturer for the treat he has given us.

Mr. LUCIEN WOLF : The duty—a very pleasant duty—falls to me as President of the Jewish Historical Society to offer on your behalf a very cordial vote of thanks to Dr. Gaster for presiding over our proceedings to-day. This vote is something more than the quasi-formality customary on occasions of this kind, because it implies a very lively sense of gratitude to Dr. Gaster

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for stepping into the breach created by the impossibility of Mr. Robert Mond coming here to-day. It also implies very sincere admiration for the admirable way in which Dr. Gaster performed his functions. The chairmanship of these lectures involves requirements rather larger than those of the ordinary chairman, which consist in keeping order and presiding over the due execution of a meeting. Here the chairman is expected to contribute something to the scholarly aspects of the lectures which are delivered here, or to offer some tribute to the memory of the distinguished man in whose honour the lectures are held. I need not point out to you the adequacy with which Dr. Gaster has performed that duty, and he is entitled to our admiration and gratitude for having done this at such short notice.

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Dr. REDCLIFFE N. SALAMAN, seconding the vote of thanks to the Chairman, said: I should like to express the gratification which a meeting such as this gives to one intimately related to the late Arthur Davis, and what a pleasure it is to the trustees of the Arthur Davis Memorial that almost to the very day on the twenty-second anniversary of his death we should find such a magnificent meeting drawn together to listen to a lecture which I think could hardly have had a rival in any hall in London. All this in memory of a simple scholar who did everything in the quietest possible manner. I would recall the fact that he was not only the scholar you have heard of, but the founder—with Mr. Herbert Bentwich—of the Education Aid Society, a fact that is generally forgotten. His love of scholarship, no less than his untiring efforts

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to assist scholars, could not be better
commemorated than they have been to-
day by the address we have just heard,
as well as by the comments of our
Chairman.



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